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# **JEWISH LIFE UNDER EMANCIPATION**

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# THE JEWISH REGIMENT.

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**By the Right Hon. G. W. E. RUSSELL.**

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It was an old and a true allegation against John Bull that he had no tact in dealing with other races than his own. He did not mean to be unjust or unfair, but he trampled on the sensitiveness which he could not understand. In Ireland he called the Roman Catholic faith "a lie and a heathenish superstition"; or, in a lighter mood, made imbecile jokes about pigs and potatoes. In Scotland, thriftiness and oatmeal were the themes of his pleasantry; in Wales he found the language, the literature, and the local nomenclature equally comic, and reserved his loudest guffaw for the Eisteddfod. Abroad, "Foreigners don't wash" was the all-embracing formula. Nasality, Bloomerism, and Dollars epitomized his notion of American civilization; and he cheerfully echoed the sentiments

Of all who under Eastern skies  
Call Aryan man a blasted nigger.

Now, of late years, John has altered his course. Some faint conception of his previous foolishness has dawned on his mind; and, as he is a thoroughly good fellow at heart, he has tried to make amends. The present war has taught him a good deal that he did not know before, and he renders a homage, all the more enthusiastic because belated, to the principle of Nationality. His latest exploit in this direction has been to suggest the

creation of a Jewish Regiment. The intention was excellent, and the idea picturesque; but for the practical business of life we need something more than good intentions and picturesque ideas. "Wisdom," said Ecclesiastes, "is profitable to direct"; and Wisdom would have suggested that it was advisable to consult Jewish opinion before the formation of a Jewish Regiment was proclaimed to the world. There is probably no race of people about which John Bull has been so much mistaken as he has been about the Jews. Lord Beaconsfield's description of Mr. Buggins, with his comments on the Feast of Tabernacles in Houndsditch, is scarcely yet anachronistic.\* But slowly our manners and our intelligence have improved in this as in other directions; and Lord Derby (who represents John Bull in his more refined development) thought that he would be paying his Jewish fellow-citizens a pretty compliment if he invited them to form a Jewish Regiment.

Historically, Lord Derby and those who applauded his scheme had a great deal to say for themselves. The remote history of Judaism is a history of war. The Old Testament is full of "the battle of the warrior," and of "garments rolled in blood." Gideon, and Barak, and Samson, and Jephthah, and David are names that sound like trumpets; and the great Maccabean princes of a later age played an equal part with Romans and Lacedæmonians. All this is historically true; but it never occurred to Lord Derby and his friends that the idea which underlay their scheme is the opposite of that which animates modern Judaism. Broadly speaking, the idea of modern Judaism is not Nationality, but Religion. Mr. Lucien Wolf has lately reminded us that, according to authoritative utterances, "The Jews are neither a nation within a nation, nor cosmopolitan," but an integral part of the nations among whom they live, claiming the same rights and acknowledging the same duties as are claimed and acknowledged by their fellow-citizens. It is worth noticing that Macaulay accepted this position as

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\* See "Tancred"—Book V. c.6.

disposing of the last obstacle to the civil and political enfranchisement of the English Jews, and ridiculed the notion that they would regard England, "not as their country, but merely as their place of exile." Mr. Wolf thus formulates his faith: "In the purely religious communities of Western Jewry we have the spiritual heirs of the law givers, prophets and teachers who, from the dawn of history, have conceived Israel, not primarily as a political organism, but as a nation of priests, the chosen servants of the Eternal."

Mr. Claude Montefiore, who is second to none as an interpreter of modern Judaism, has lately been writing in a similar strain. The Jew is a Jew in respect of his religion: but, for the ordinary functions of patriotism, fighting included, he is a citizen of the country in which he dwells. A Jewish friend of mine said the other day to a pacifist who tried to appeal to him on racial grounds: "*I would shoot a Jewish Prussian as readily as a Christian Prussian, if I found him fighting under the German flag*" Thus, to enrol a Regiment of Jews is about as wise as to enrol a Regiment of Roman Catholics or of Wesleyan Methodists. Jews, Romans, and Wesleyans alike hold with laudable tenacity the religious faiths which they respectively profess: but they are well content to fight side by side with Anglicans, or Presbyterians, or Plymouth Brethren. They need no special standard, no differentiating motto. They are soldiers of the country to which they belong.

Here let me quote the exhilarating verses of a Jewish lady,\* written at the time of the Boer War (March, 1900):

Long ago and far away, O Mother England,  
We were warriors brave and bold,  
But a hundred nations rose in arms against us,  
And the shades of exile closed o'er those  
heroic  
Days of old.

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\* Mrs. Henry Lucas (reprinted in her "Talmudic Legends, Hymns and Paraphrases."—Chatto and Windus, 1908).

Thou hast given us home and freedom,  
Mother England,  
Thou hast let us live again  
Free and fearless 'midst thy free and fearless  
children,  
Sharing with them, as one people, grief and  
gladness.  
Joy and pain.

Now we Jews, we English Jews, O Mother  
England,  
Ask another boon of thee !  
Let us share with them the danger and the glory,  
Where thy best and bravest lead, there let us  
follow  
O'er the sea !

For the Jew has heart and hand, our Mother  
England,  
And they both are thine to-day—  
Thine for life, and thine for death, yea, thine  
for ever !  
Wilt thou take them as we give them, freely,  
gladly ?  
England, say !

I am well aware that in what I have written, though I have been careful to reinforce myself with Jewish authority, I may be running counter to that interesting movement which is called "Zionism." It is not for a Gentile to take part in the dissensions of the Jewish community ; but I may be permitted to express my sympathy with a noble idea, and to do so in words written by a brilliant Israelite, Lord Beaconsfield : " I do not bow to the necessity of a visible head in a defined locality ; but, were I to seek for such, it would not be at Rome. When Omnipotence deigned to be incarnate, the ineffable Word did not select a Roman frame. The prophets were not Romans ; the apostles were not Romans ; she, who was blessed above all women—I never heard that she was a Roman maiden. No, I should look to a land more distant than Italy, to a city more sacred even than Rome."

# JEWISH LIFE UNDER EMANCIPATION

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Neo-Zionists of a certain school claim that they are *making* history. As to the justice of this boast, and as to the character of the history, the future, when it becomes history itself, will pass judgment. But certainly the same neo-Zionists are engaged in a frantic effort to *unmake* history. As to the worth of this attempt, we can pass summary judgment without waiting for the verdict of posterity.

Emancipation, we are told by this school, was the mother of all evils. For an hour or two hope flickered, but the sunshine—such as it was—acted as it did to the traveller in the story. In the heat off went his cloak, which he had closely hugged in the storm. The cloak in this version of the parable represents the best that Judaism stands for.

Perhaps the most remarkable—one may even say the most monstrous—type of this theory is the actual setting up of a “spiritual ghetto” as the one and only ideal deserving to be called Jewish. Of all attempts to misread history this is assuredly the most specious and also the most mischievous. It is specious because it seems to throw stress on the more original, more specific elements of the Jewish genius. It is mischievous because it would promote a conscious break with the whole course of development by which in the past the Jewish genius had attained its best results, by which in our own time also it is continuing to obtain good results. For if

history tells one thing more clearly than any other it is this: that the Jewish genius has flourished best, has most completely realised its own inherent virtues, when it has been in the freest, fullest contact with other great expressions of the human spirit. Nothing but a distortion of history can be produced to justify the fears and the sneers of those who, though themselves the progeny of emancipation, unfortunately using for the purpose not true Hebraic ideas, but the borrowed thoughts of the narrower school of non-Hebraic philosophy, represent the modern emancipation of the Jews as something bizarre, something discreditable, as, in fact, an act of disloyalty on the part of those noble Jewish men who acted as protagonists in the struggle for freedom more than a century ago.

Though, however, the full answer to this contention lies outside the purpose of the present essay, it must be said in passing that modern emancipation was no wicked plot of outside foes, no amiable act of mistaken kindness on the part of outside friends. It was the natural pressure of Jews within that burst the walls of the ghetto. Put the Jews back into a "spiritual ghetto," if you can (and, of course, you cannot!), and the Jews themselves will again break out. A "spiritual ghetto" is as obsolete as a material ghetto; nay, the irresistible desire and demand of the Jewish spirit has always been in the direction of breaking barriers to its freedom. Some of our modern Zionists, seeking for an easy solution of the "Jewish problem," would fain forget the lessons of history, or, if they remember them, would fain resent them. It reminds one of another kind of traveller who, strolling through the lanes of a mediæval city, laments the broader streets of a modern town. Such critics confuse the pleasure of the casual sightseer with the misery



of the habitual denizen. Certain "ghetto" features were picturesque, but more were grotesque; and it was from the narrow, insanitary, sunless streets that the Jews forced their way into light and health. Those who lived in the ghetto knew what they were about when with all the ardour of their souls they fought to get out of it. But they ought, forsooth, to have been content with physical bonds, because only thus could they enjoy spiritual freedom!

Now those who take this view are, as cannot be too often urged, setting themselves dead against historical fact. At any rate, if we survey nineteenth-century Jewish thought as a whole the verdict was exactly the opposite. If history seemed assured of anything, it was assured of this: that the entry of Jews into the world's life with Moses Mendelssohn was an event which spelt regeneration, not demoralisation. That the account was not all on one side was freely admitted. But, again, history had prepared us for the obligation of taking balanced views; had led us to expect complex results from complex causes. On the one side there emerged antinomian excesses, religious and moral; on the other side ultra-conservative reactions, ritual and social. But the middle stream continuously gained in volume and strength. Or, to change the metaphor, weaker grew the soloists who deplored emancipation, fuller the chorus which hailed it as a true re-birth, fraught with blessing alike to Jews within and the world without.

We are celebrating on October 31 in this year the centenary of the day on which Graetz first saw the light. Graetz was the foremost Jewish historian of the nineteenth century. He perceived clearly enough the pitfalls in the path of emancipated Jewry, just as at this hour competent observers can see the pitfalls in the path of

emancipated Russia. But over and above and around, Graetz beheld the broad, safe road. To him Mendelssolm was a saviour, the instrument of Israel's renaissance; to him emancipation was the just right of a community worthy of the boon—the just right of those who were theoretically capable of making a noble use of it, and who proved that capacity by the practical evidence of experience. Graetz had no doubt on the subject. To him emancipation marked transition from night to day, from degradation to dignity, material and moral. “Thrice,” said Graetz, “was Israel released from the most disgraceful slavery, and became not alone free, but powerful, with all the strength of youth. The exodus from Egypt, the return from the Babylonian exile, we know; but the third release and rise—when was that? That we have ourselves lived through: *we ourselves belong to the rejuvenated, released from the fetters of a spiritual death.*” This address was delivered a few years before Herzl, a great man also, but less qualified as a spokesman of Jewish thought and history, entered upon his famous analysis of emancipation as the source of Israel's woes. In exactly the opposite sense did Graetz, in the same context as we have already quoted from, proudly and gratefully proclaim the “marvellous metamorphosis” from Israel's downcast condition in the period precedent to the age of emancipation.

Graetz perhaps exaggerated, with the artist's touch, the shadows of the eighteenth century. I think that he did. But that there was a tremendous change in the nineteenth century, and, on the whole, a tremendous change for the better, is beyond all reasonable doubt. Nor do I allude to the material, nor merely to the moral, improvement of the condition of a large number of Jews. Emancipation was, indeed, an important stage,

one might almost call it the most important stage yet reached, in the development of the inner Jewish character on the one hand, and on the other of the realisation of the Jewish mission. To prove this thesis, a long treatise, not a short pamphlet, would be required. Here it must suffice to indicate a few of the main lines on which emancipation worked as a vivifying power for good, preparing the way not for a retrogression into a separate political nationality or into a spiritual ghetto, but for further, firmer advance on a road on which already such signal progress has been made. For one evil which has resulted from emancipation, ten evils have been due to non-emancipation. As emancipation spreads in backward lands, so will those evils become mitigated, and the course of progress widen until it becomes coincident with the civilised world.

First among the effects of emancipation, there was a splendid renaissance of Jewish learning. Emancipation gave the Jews the opportunity of applying methods of study developed in Europe, and at the same time attracted to Jewish research the finest minds of Jewry. The men who led were the product of the new age. Men of genius, like Zunz, "founder," "pioneer," as he has been justly termed, were enabled to apply the critical method partly from their careers at the Universities, partly from their intercourse with European circles, to both of which emancipation admitted them. It is difficult to over-rate what this new movement meant for the literature of Judaism, both within and without the Synagogue. Within, it secured for Jewish studies a succession of the keenest intellects and strongest personalities. They felt proud to devote to Jewish learning, powers and qualities which would have brought them fame in any sphere to which they might

choose to turn. They revelled in their own fine literature, for which they excited a new enthusiasm in their own community. Nor did they withdraw from mankind what they gave up to Judaism. For while the new Jewish scholarship was an inspiration within, it was a revelation without. A new era began for the world of letters, as well as for the Jewish section of it. On the day of Jewish emancipation there also dawned a truer attitude of Christian scholars to the Rabbinic records. In our own time this transformation is bearing fruit. The world of learning needed the work of Zunz, Geiger, Graetz, Luzzatto to give it a clue through the Talmudic maze. It is using the clue, in many instances, with excellent effect.

But the re-birth was not merely intellectual. Not only did it lead to the foundation of the great modern seminaries, which formed centres of Jewish learning and education. Let it be clearly remembered, however, that these seminaries united in themselves the two effects of emancipation, for they have proved an interesting and, on the whole, triumphant and enduring experiment towards harmonising the old and the new, towards cultivating the ancient Jewish learning under the influence of modern methods of research. Put concretely, the new Rabbi was to possess the Rabbinic diploma *and* a University degree. This new phase of Jewish life affected the Orthodox and Reformed alike. The change went deep. The seminaries have generated a class of scholarship, a type of character, which would have been barely possible for a gifted few under the pre-emancipation régime, and altogether impossible for the rank and file. The seminaries have produced their specially famous scholars, but far more impressive has been the remarkable rise in average

This, however, was not the only, not even the most conspicuous result. The world had a sort of idea that the Jews had indeed a great past as the "people of the Book." But with the Bible, it seemed, the Jewish genius had spoken almost its final word. Emancipation changed all this, and not for the first time. In the olden Hellenistic period the Jews were filled with a consciousness of their spiritual wealth, and sought to impress the world with a similar consciousness. Hence the great "apologetic" outburst which introduced the world to the Hebraic literature. And so has it always been in ages of emancipation. Restricting our survey to the period under consideration, it is due to the new spirit of emancipation that the modern Jewry itself has come to understand that the Jewish genius was a continuous force, that it did not exhaust itself in the Bible or even in the Talmud, but that it had gone on, with here and there a break, to add glory on glory. It was the new scientific research which demonstrated to the Jews that they had a history worthy of them, worthy to stand by the side of other great histories. This new historic consciousness was the direct fruit of emancipation, and the new inspiration (given by Graetz's "History of the Jews") dignified the emancipation, without which the new inspiration would have been impossible.

Mention has been made of Orthodox and Reformed as both affected by emancipation, and affected for good. Consider this fact. Geiger led the new Liberal movement; S. R. Hirsch created the modern Orthodoxy. These two men were actually fellow-students in the University of Bonn! Both were thus the product of emancipation, and what momentous, what beneficent consequences followed need not be argued. To Geiger is

owing the adaptation of Judaism to modern life, to Hirsch the adaptation of modern life to Judaism. The former would have us ever apply first principles: the latter bestowed new sentimental value on derived rules. Both were animated by devotion to the belief that Judaism can be nobly lived under emancipation; both proved, in themselves and their disciples, how realisable that belief is. Both created schools which to-day flourish strongly, which are among the sincerest, most effective influences at work in modern Jewry. In England just now the most vital religious forces are the Jewish Religious Union and the Federation of Synagogues, which go back respectively to Geiger and Hirsch. And, in between, what may be termed the "United Synagogue" compromise not unworthily represents an aspect of the harmonious interworking of emancipation and the Jewish spirit.

Thus emancipation has exerted, and continues to exert, a profound influence for good on the inner life of the Jews. Nor has its beneficent effect been less marked in the outer life. Inner and outer life, indeed, react on each other. A sound condition of Judaism within means a sound relation between Judaism and the world, and *vice versa*. Of course, this relation is often disturbed; progress largely consists in the unsettlings and the re-establishments of equilibrium. Without, the disturbing influence may be prejudice, such as anti-Semitism; within, it may be narrowness, such as the notion of a "Jewish culture." Anti-Semitism, logically carried out, would cut Jewry physically from the world: "Jewish culture," logically pursued, would divorce Jewry spiritually from the world. When Herzl frankly asserted that political Zionism was in his case an effect of anti-Semitism, he was near perceiving the truth that the two phenomena spring from similar causes—the inability or

unwillingness to use emancipation within, the reluctance or refusal to grant it from without. And just as neither of these causes has lasting validity, so their consequences must prove ephemeral. It is quite likely that the causes and the consequences will re-appear at intervals under different guises. But it is at least as likely that the strong, far-reaching arms of humanism will always be able to overthrow obscurantists, be they within or without the camp.

We have seen above that emancipation was a revival within. To the part borne by emancipated Jews in the general life of the outside world it is only possible to allude in the most summary terms. Even for a single country, England, space is not available within the limits of this essay. Yet it is necessary to remind some of the hostile critics of emancipation of the very respectable place won by Jews in the English universities, in Parliament and Government, in the Civil Service, in the Army, in the athletic field, in commerce, manufactures, in the professions, in art, in science, in literature. Nor has this place been won by a surrender of Jewish ideals. Loyalty to England has not meant disloyalty to Judaism. "The honours you have received," said Graetz to an audience of English Jews, "have been granted to you *sans phrase* as the descendants of Jacob, as the guardians of your ancient birthright." And similarly Mendelssohn impressed on the Continental Jews that their rights as citizens did not, could not, free them from their duties as Jews. "Bear both burdens," cried Mendelssohn, and, again speaking of emancipated Jewry as a whole, honourably has the admonition been accepted and fulfilled. If there have been some notable exceptions they are but as the drop in the bucket compared to the similar instances—of an enormously greater

volume—which occurred in ages of persecution. Emancipation has slain its tens, where repression slew its thousands. In the main, and on the whole, emancipated Jewry has, in Mendelssohn's words, borne both burdens, if "burdens" be the right substantive to use.

That all is not well with modern life is a truth, but it has been a truth at all stages of human life. Foes of emancipation attribute to it all the ugly features of present-day society in so far as the Jews are concerned. Moralists can make out a strong case against the life of our time, but moralists in all former epochs have done the same for their time. "'Punch' is not so witty as it used to be," said the grumbler to Burmand. "'True,'" he replied, "'Punch' never was as good as it used to be!" A subtle and conclusive answer to those who decry their age, a class who has flourished ever since Ecclesiastes wrote. Judaism, like other religious forces, tends at times to remove its grip on the moral life, tends to relax its control, to lose its hold. But emancipation has been mostly on the side of the angels. Emancipated Judaism has from first to last laid special stress on ethics, on moral duty. The age of emancipation has been the age of Jewish religious schools, in particular of the religious training of Jewish girls, of vernacular exhortations from the pulpit in the cause of righteousness—a direct product this of emancipation!—it has been an age of vast philanthropic schemes for the elevation of the Jews in backward countries. There has been no smug satisfaction with one's own emancipation, while the rest of Jewry had its hopes of emancipation disappointed. To the eternal credit of emancipated Jews there has been no selfish content with their own comfort.

Emancipation, in fact, created a new sense of the



Jewish mission. "Love for your fatherland," to cite Graetz's address to English Jews once more, "need not exclude love for the land of your fathers." Well have the emancipated Jews proved that they accept that principle. Wherever Jews have suffered because of their Judaism, emancipated Jewry has felt the impulse to bring help. In its appeal (1860) for public support, the task of the Alliance Israélite Universelle was thus stated (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, I. p. 413): "To defend the honour of the Jewish name whenever it is attacked; to encourage, by all means at our disposal, the pursuit of useful handicrafts; to combat, where necessary, the ignorance and vice engendered by oppression; to work, by the power of persuasion and by all the moral influences at our command, for the emancipation of our brethren who still suffer under the burden of exceptional legislation; to hasten and solidify complete enfranchisement by the intellectual and moral regeneration of our brethren." The Anglo-Jewish Association and other organisations on the Continent and in America have adopted a similar ideal. There has been no easy resting on soft couches in London and Paris, while Jews in the Orient or in the Occident were suffering the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. Emancipation planned this new Mission of the Jews to the Jews; it did more than plan it: it went very far to accomplish it.

But this is not all. It is one part of the Jewish Mission, not the whole. It is not enough! exclaimed Isaiah. "It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the nations, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth." Nothing in Jewish history has been more distressful than the readiness of the neo-

Zionists to jeer at this aspiration, the expression though it be of the true Zionism. They may jeer, but the emancipated Jew, be he Liberal or Conservative, will rejoice. He will continue to maintain this hope, making it dignify his own religious position, letting it urge him to bring the whole world to a share in the light. The olden Roman poet sang of "Captive Greece which took captive its Roman captor." An emancipated Israel, on the contrary, will go on hoping that he may be one of the instruments for conferring fuller freedom on an emancipated world!

I. ABRAHAMS.

# PALESTINE NOT A SOLUTION OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM.

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Zionism in the last twenty-five years has become one of the most articulate Jewish weapons directed against anti-Semitism. As such it has been a barometer of the progress anti-Semitism has made in various lands. Whenever a pogrom takes place the adherents of Zionism increase in number. If there is a lull in the anti-Semitic movement Zionism registers that lull by a loss in aggressive strength. After the pogrom in 1881 the Zionist movement as a political force received great impetus. Even in America the tragedy of Kishineff brought many unsynagogued Jews into the racial fold. The sufferings of Israel gave even the agnostic and radical Jew a consciousness of kind from which the Zionist and Nationalist movement gained. This movement became the refuge of many Jews to whom Judaism as a religious message had ceased to appeal. Zionism as a political weapon against anti-Semitism has always represented a minority in Israel.

For the purposes of clear thinking we must consider Zionism, first, as a solution to the general Jewish problem; second, as a movement which can satisfy the soul of the Jew; third, as a limited experiment for the

purpose of establishing Jewish colonies and a Jewish cultural centre; and, fourth, the message of Zionism, if it has any, to the Jews of America.

The general Jewish problem is created by the civil, political, **economic**, and other disabilities from which the Jews have suffered. These are removed whenever progress is made along the lines of general emancipation. By a successful Russian revolution and the establishment of a free Government, whether a republic or a constitutional monarchy, Jewish disabilities in Russia will be automatically removed by granting to them equal rights. Roumania, as is probable, will follow the Russian precedent and will make the Roumanian Jews the beneficiaries of this advance of general emancipation. The vast majority of the Jews located in Russia, Roumania, Galicia, and Poland will thus be liberated. This is the major and most important phase of the Jewish question affecting the welfare of the majority of the Jews in the world.

Deeper and more complicated is the subjective phase of the Jewish question; for, even if the Jews obtain equal rights in the various lands of their birth or adoption, is the Jewish question solved? Social anti-Semitism will still persist, for the removal of social prejudice cannot be effected through the granting of civil, political, and economic rights. Social prejudice exists even in democratic countries. It depends in the final analysis upon the development of the Jew and the non-Jew alike.

The establishment of a Jewish State will not necessarily remove it. Such prejudice has existed against races which have had a concrete historic State. Therefore it cannot be claimed that Nationalism or Zionism will directly solve the problem of prejudice. That must be fought out, wherever races do not understand each other,

by contact and by an effort on the part of the Jew and the non-Jew alike to establish relations which are based upon mutual respect merited by both sides, and especially by the removal of ignorance, which is often the chief basis of prejudice.

The advocates of Zionism as a solution of the subjective phase of the Jewish question assume, first, that Judaism, in its broader sense, is worth preserving, and consequently that its preservation is made possible only by the establishment of a Jewish State, acting as a cultural centre which will exist primarily for the purpose of perpetuating it. The Zionists say vaguely that Jewish culture is worthy of preservation. Whatever is of distinctive worth in a nationality should be cultivated and contributed for the enrichment of humanity.

But what constitutes the distinctive worth in Jewish culture? Surely it cannot be claimed that Jewish science, art, or even philosophy or scholarship is distinctive. The realm of science and scholarship has always been properly international, and where the Jews have produced great scientists they have not made their contribution to science, scholarship, or philosophy as Jews. The Jews have produced great scientists, a few great artists, and many scholars of distinction, but in all this realm of human activity it cannot be said that they have been superior to the achievements of other races. In fact, if we were frank with ourselves we would say that they have not shown first-rate originality in many of these fields. The distinctive contribution of the Jew has been in the realm of religion and ethics.

The most precious gift of the Jew to the world has been the Hebrew in him. It has been his sensitive spiritual idealism. Remove the Scriptures and the rich literature

and lore which represent the reaction of the Jewish soul upon the fundamental spiritual problems of life, and there is very little left which would be considered distinctive or superior to the achievements of other races.

Believing that the Hebraic element in life is worth preserving, is a Jewish State essential for the preservation of this attitude toward life? Has the hope of Zion as a political movement been the cause of the Jews' survival, despite centuries of persecution? Is it not a fact that the survival of Judaism and the Jews as a people can be attributed more to the loyalty of the Jew to his religion than to his nationalism? And even where the hope of Zion's redemption has persisted in the life of the Jew, that hope was the product of a spiritual rather than a political concept.

The Zionists cannot point to ancient Jewish liturgy as any confirmation of secular political Zionism—a recent phenomenon in Jewish life. The Jewish religion has always attempted to make a spiritual appeal, and even Reform Judaism, which Zionists are prone to condemn by characterising its normal evolution as an unsuccessful effort of the Jews to assimilate non-Jewish religious elements, attempted at least to strike a spiritual note and to awaken a religious emotion as distinguished from a romantic, a social, or a nationalistic one.

It is important to make this distinction between a spiritual and a romantic emotion. In the great fervour which the Zionist movement has developed during the last twenty years, not a little of their emotion is romantic. How much of this nostalgia of the centuries is a racial yearning to obtain what has once been its precious possession and to idealise the distant at the expense of the present? How much of this *Heimweh* for Palestine is

deeply sincere among many of those who now sing the Jewish Nationalists' hymn, the "Hatikvah," with revivalistic fervour? How much of it would actually persist as a spiritually motivating power if Palestine were obtained?

In other words, will the existence of Palestine as a Jewish State actually result in developing in the Jew that Hebraism, that spiritual view of life, which has been his distinctive contribution, and will it help to solve the problem of the vast majority of the Jews who have cast their lot with America, with Russia, with Germany, with France, and with other countries of their birth or adoption? This is, after all, the largest part of the Jewish question.

The Zionists say that if the Jewish State existed the rebound upon the Jews of the world would be regenerative. They would draw their inspiration from this centre, and would contribute their distinctive idealism to the peoples with whom they are living. How much of this is a hope and a prophecy? And what are the serious moral dangers in this nationalistic point of view, from the standpoint of the Jewish soul? Here are some of them:—

First, it is apt to breed a racial egotism. What we want to preserve is the best in the Jew—which is the Hebrew. By that I mean his idealism. I sometimes believe that a conscious emphasis of nationalism leads to an acceptance of racial qualities just because the race happens to possess them. The Jews, like other people, have good and bad qualities, and to improve as a type they must eliminate and minimise the bad and cultivate the good. Sometimes a racial self-assertion leads to a subtle acceptance of limitations and prevents a frank facing of

them. It is good for the Jew to get in touch with other races, to grow by struggle, and even at times by suffering. A conscious emphasis of nationalism leads almost imperceptibly to a form of spiritual domination—to a lack of humility, which religion has frequently counter-acted – but not nationalism.

The world to-day is suffering from the tragedies of a false nationalism—of a nationalism in which the idea of domination has given certain nations a form of megalomania—and, if any emphasis is needed, it is rather along the lines of internationalism and human fellowship. If the Zionists reply, “We desire to realise the national self of the Jewish people without any thought of domination,” the answer is that any conscious effort at national self-realisation results not infrequently in a form of spiritual domination which is unwholesome, and which tends to develop race limitations quite as much as virtues.

After all, there is less need of emphasis and developing of social individuality than there is for laying stress upon international interdependence. If such an individuality really exists, it should express itself without conscious effort. The world is passing through a revolution in which the principle of international federation is being stressed as never before. From a spiritual point of view Jewish nationalism is reactionary.

But there are some Jews who find themselves inwardly isolated, and who feel at home only in a Jewish atmosphere. They say, with a well-known Jewish philosopher, that even in the midst of emancipation they are in slavery. They feel with him the need of a Jewish ideal source which will satisfy their inner complex.

If these Jews are so constituted that they can obtain



their deepest soul satisfaction only by the existence of a Jewish spiritual source, they should have it. The vast majority of the Jews do not feel the need of it. Their soul can be satisfied, and is satisfied, not only with the message of the Hebrew prophets and the rabbis, but with the spiritual movements of the present day. They are inwardly at home when they come in contact with great Jewish and non-Jewish personalities who are attempting to solve the social and religious problems of the present day.

Millions of Jews satisfy their souls by contributing their Jewish idealism to the world problems of human freedom. They are conscious while participating in these non-racial movements that they are contributing the native idealism of their people and their traditions. The subjective satisfaction of the latter may be more enriching to the world than the former, and at the same time it is none the less enriching to the Jews.

But the Zionist may answer, "Do you wish the Jews and Judaism to be preserved," and with freedom will not the process of assimilation so go on that the Jews as a people will finally disappear unless a Jewish State exists? This question is, and for generations will be, an academic one. First, because the racial idiosyncrasies of the Jews will prevent for a long time, if ever, their blood assimilation. Secondly, the Jews have no more right to historic race persistence than any other nation unless they justify it.

The only right that a people has to persist in history is that right which is based upon the fulfilment of their mission. As long as they contribute to civilisation they ought to exist. If the Jews fail to make their distinctive

contribution to the world they have no right to exist. They should exist upon a qualitative basis only if Judaism prevails as a spiritual force.

Do their distinctive contribution depend upon a spiritual inbreeding which is apt to be the result of a Jewish State? Creative spirituality is a product of struggle and of suffering. The history of the Jews will show that their most fruitful religious contributions have come at the point of contact with other races. Spiritual creativeness needs the battleground of contacts to produce its full fruitage.

The world needs at the present time more than ever a spiritual revival. In the friction of cultural contacts and in the revolutionary melting-pot of ideals which is now taking place, the great religious message must be born, and the Jew has a wonderful opportunity to develop and amplify that Hebraic spirit which has been his most precious contribution to the civilisation of the world. It does not need, and has never needed, a political State for its existence or its development. On the contrary, political considerations, national hatreds, and other complications resulting from the establishment of the Jewish State may coarsen the quality of Hebrew spirituality and result not in a pure, but in an alloyed, idealism.

There can be no objection to the existence of a cultural centre where Jews, who are willing to go there, can preserve and develop their race traditions, but there are strong objections to a philosophy of Jewish nationalism as a condition for the preservation of the Hebraic spirit, and there are many dangers in that philosophy. Reference has been made to the tendency of such a philosophy to develop race egotism. Another objection is that it

narrows the horizon and tends to the acceptance of forms which the conscience and intellect of a great many Jews have discarded.

From a practical point of view the existence of Palestine as a homeland will not solve the problem except as a refuge for those Jewish dreamers who will consecrate themselves to make their Jewish dreams come true. But they are not the only dreamers. The dreamers of Israel have lived and suffered, and have made their Jewish dreams come true for the world without a Jewish State, and they will still exist and their dreams will have a spiritual quality, as distinguished from a mere romantic one, to contribute to the profoundest problems of life, which are, in the final analysis, spiritual and religious. They will meet the problems of the newer day with an open mind, and with their native vision will be perfectly willing to cast away the old cups for the new wine and will be perfectly frank to accept the new forms, if need be, to contain the new waters of life as they well up from deepest springs.

The most constructive work that the Zionists have accomplished is the encouragement and financial support that they have given to the Jewish colonies in Palestine. They have afforded some of the pioneers from Roumania and Russia an opportunity to work out their practical and spiritual problems. This limited experiment in Jewish colonisation is encouraging, and has received the approval not only of Zionists but of non-Zionists, who are interested in any practical scheme which will help solve the problems of those Jews who have sought a refuge from persecution.

But interest in practical colonisation is quite a different matter from risking the prestige and impairing the influ-

ence of Judaism as a religious force by the failure of a Jewish State. A practical colonist is not burdened, nor is the success of his experiment threatened, by the diplomatic, political, nationalistic, and racial difficulties involved in the attempt to establish a Jewish State. He need not concern himself with such questions as the representation in the State of the many varying shades of Jewish religions, political, social, and economic opinion—the rocks upon which States have been wrecked.

Wherever Jews can be brought back to the land they should be encouraged. A constructive programme for meeting the newer Jewish immigration to America, whereby American citizens, both of Jewish and non-Jewish extraction, would make possible the establishment of colonies where Jews can be brought back to the land, would have powerful value. Interesting and encouraging beginning has been made in various Jewish agricultural experiments in America. Therefore the Zionists' attempt to aid Jewish colonisation is practical. But these colonies should not be restricted to Palestine alone, although the latter colonies should receive every support possible.

To the Jews of America Zionism has no positive message. The American Jew is nationally an American only. He is thrilled by one flag, which symbolises the ideals of a democracy in which men and women of all races have joined together to make government of the people, for the people, and by the people, a success. The very first tenet of American democracy is the separation of Church and State. It has demonstrated that citizens can have one common political allegiance and as many religious allegiances as their consciences may dictate.

The American Jew will not tolerate any other national political loyalty. Any movement which emphasises racial

groups in America is inconsistent with the spirit of this democracy.

Fortunate, indeed, for the Jews of America that they are participating in a political experiment which does not encourage national groups and which prevents the race hatreds resulting from such a recognition. The United States, through the wisdom of its founders, has been free of those national and race wars which have characterised the history of Austria, where racial groups have been organised and recognised as a part of the larger State. It may be natural to recognise racial groups in Austria and even in the new Russia—one cannot anticipate what will be the outcome of the loose federation of national groups—but even there the majority of the Jews are seeking recognition in the lands of their birth and their adoption, rather than the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, as a solution of their problems.

They are properly attempting to work out their destinies on the basis of free and equal rights in these lands. Responsible organised English Jews are fearing the establishment of a free republic in Palestine upon the basis of special Jewish rights. What they want is equal rights for their people, wherever they live. This is a much sounder position for the Jews to take than the dangerous political experimentation of Zionism. But to the Jews in America Zionism has no positive message.

My conclusion, finally, is that Jewish nationalism as a philosophy of life is not satisfactory ; that it is reactionary ; that it leads to a racial egotism, and that it does not conduce to profound moral and spiritual, but rather to romantic, emotions. However, this is not inconsistent with approval of the Jewish cultural centres, where those Jews who yearn to preserve and develop their Jewishness

can live if they wish to. If they feel the necessity of such a centre, they should obtain the right to have it, just as other peoples have. But the existence of such a centre is not essential to the development and even preservation of the best in the Jew, which is the Hebrew.

What the Jews need is that Hebraic spirit which the prophet expressed in the insight that "without vision a nation perisheth"; which made Micah say, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" Jews need to be bathed in a revival of that Hebraic spirit which gave birth to Isaiah's visions, to David's Psalms, to Spinoza's God—intoxication, to that rich literature of distinctive Jewish worth which is theirs and the world's heritage.

No romantic movement can effect this miracle—no message of racial self-assertion will bring it about. Only by a return to the source of Jewish power—Hebrew idealism—can the goal be approached. Not through the easy and roseate-hued path of romanticism and emotion, but through the difficult road of spiritual and moral effort can the subjective phase of the Jewish problem be solved, wherever may be the Jewish habitat.

HENRY MOSKOWITZ.

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# CONTENTS.

---

PART		Page
	I.—Periodicals, Transactions of Learned Societies, etc. . . . .	1
„	II.—Comparative Philology, History of Literature, Catalogues of MSS., etc. . . . .	7
„	III.—History, Geography, Archæology, etc. . .	14
„	IV.—Religion. (Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Missions, etc.) . . . . .	41
„	V.—Chinese and Japanese Grammars, Dictionaries, etc. . . . .	45
„	VI.—Chinese Texts and Translations . . . .	55
„	VII.—Manchu . . . . .	74
„	VIII.—Japanese Texts and Translations . . .	76
„	IX.—Corea and Corean . . . . .	82
„	X.—Java and Javanese . . . . .	84
„	XI.—Malay and Malay Peninsula . . . . .	87
„	XII.—Siam and Siamese . . . . .	92
„	XIII.—Tibet and Tibetan . . . . .	94
„	XIV.—Ural-Altaic . . . . .	99
„	XV.—Supplement . . . . .	105



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